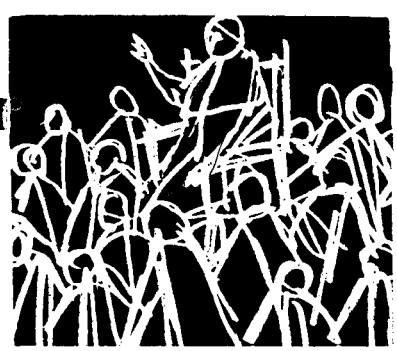
Volume LXXXIX No. 3 October 18, 1968 35 cents

commonweal

IS THE POPE INFALLIBLE?

St. Charles Seminary Library
Carthagena Station
Celina, Ohio
OCT 1 8 1968

Roman Catholic Bishop Francis Simons of Indore Enters a Dissent



***MICHAEL NOVAK** on the Wallace phenomenon*

***ORVILLE SCHELL** on negotiating with China*

***DOUGLAS J. ROCHE** on the Canadian Bishops*

A-Z91.C6 1968
ST CHARLES SEMINARY
CARTHAGENA STATION
CELINA OHIO 45822

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS AND VIEWS

Maybe when the history of the Vietnam experience is totaled up, accounts will be balanced. If so, emerging as one of the curiosities of the war story will surely be media's handling of what the peace community terms its direct-action strategy. This strategy translates as sabotage and disruption. News, of course. But you'd hardly know it from the way direct-action incidents are isolated, down-played, misidentified, ignored.

There are bombings and burnings regularly all over the country of draft-board offices and various military-related facilities. But only a few gain wide attention. And apart from William Worthy and a piece he did last summer in the *Boston Globe*, we have seen no speculation about the events forming a new pattern of resistance to the war. But they do.

Oh, there is coverage of these violent (but violence directed against property, not persons), direct-action tactics. In some instances there has been extensive coverage. But generally the coverage is local, and any wire-services or network coverage, if not skimpy to begin with, seems to become so after the respective news editors are finishing marking up the story.

When 14 protestors broke into a Selective Service office in Milwaukee on Sept. 24, and seized and burned an estimated 20,000 draft files, the incident rated three paragraphs in some, not all, editions of the next day's *New York Times*.

When the Naval and Marine Corps Training Center in Eugene, Oregon, was hit with fire bombs Sept. 29, causing damage to building and equipment amounting to $100,000, it also rated only three paragraphs in the *Times*.

When Wisconsin Selective Service headquarters in Madison was firebombed on Oct. 1, with the loss of "some" draft records, again three obscure paragraphs in the *Times*—and these back on page 77.

The point is that there's been a marked escalation of radical opposition to the war, but you'd hardly know it from the news coverage. You'd have to be a wide and careful reader to know that not only was blood spilled over draft records in Baltimore, but that black paint was poured into draft files in the Boston Customs House; that draft board headquarters in Berkeley has been hit at least three times in pre-dawn bombings; that records of the Xenia, Ohio, draft board were destroyed by fire of "undetermined origin"; that the torch has been put to ROTC buildings at Stanford, Berkeley and A & I College in Nashville; that several high-voltage transmission towers in the Berkeley-Oakland area have been rocked by blasts.

Those incidents are not all. There is Catonsville. And Milwaukee. And how many more that the Pentagon knows about but the public does not?

Insignificant, isolated phenomena? Don't be naive.

How, then, explain the minimum of detail, virtually no contextual reporting, and seldom any recapitulation? Beats us. The media bear a responsibility. So also do public authorities, who frequently incline toward the benign explanation for the violence that takes place. Sometimes events themselves obscure motivations. (A protestor toppled a lonesome electric tower in San Mateo; two days later he surrendered himself to the police in order to make clear to the public the anti-war motivation behind his action.)

This much is certain: acts of sabotage and disruption may be obscured and camouflaged, but they are not going to die out because of circumspect handling by the media or politic news management by public officials. Nor will all of the violence be headed off by government agents who have infiltrated the peace and protest groups.

William Worthy predicted in his *Globe* piece that the country is going to experience increased disruption of its draft system and its training and military research facilities. He sees "more bombings and more fires." It is doubtful that events will prove him wrong. We just may not read of them.

The paradox, of course, is that a similar development of events in North Vietnam would be bannered by the press and endlessly analyzed as proof of popular resentment to the war.

•

Might Catholic University become another Columbia or Berkeley? If the Fatima Rosary brigade is to be believed, it already has. The Fatima people are sponsoring a crusade, that "the Holy Rosary, which already has saved the Church of God in so many historic crises, save the Catholic University of America." According to the literature, " 'Men of little faith,' secretly organized into cells for plotting and intrigue, are busy taking over our National Pontifical University with a plan to separate it from the Holy See and to change the character of its teachings." JOHN DEEDY

DON'T BE MELODRAMATIC, MILDRED — THE ENCYCLICAL CERTAINLY DID NOT CAST A BLACK CLOUD OVER OUR LIVES.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

Narrowing the Gap

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: While sharing your dismay at the dismal prospect facing the American voter in November, I cannot but decry a tendency in *Commonweal* to present only those convenient facts which best serve to sustain its argument, or to proclaim a consensus when, in fact, no such consensus exists. Such evidence of insecurity in defending a point of view defeats the very persuasiveness you aim to achieve. In its place you open a credibility gap—something you so deplore on every other front.

Let's be sure we understand what I intend a "credibility gap" to mean. When the Russians claim their invasion of Czechoslovakia was undertaken in response to a plea from the government and people of Czechoslovakia, that is not a credibility gap. It's a defiance of credibility. The gap occurs when Lyndon Johnson reveals to the Congress only the convenient half-facts about the Tonkin Gulf incident in order to secure a blanket authorization to extend the war at his own discretion.

I limit my observations to only one half of the first paragraph of your recent editorial ["The Bombing Halt," Sept. 27]. After questioning President Johnson's intentions in declaring his retirement, you add: ". . now it has come to light that rather than de-escalating unilaterally as he had promised, even more bomb tonnage has been dropped on Vietnam."

Fact 1. Granted the President should have specified the 20th Parallel limitation at the time, it is still true that 80%-90% of North Vietnam has remained inviolate since that date. That is certainly a sizable de-escalation, even if it is not 100%.

Fact 2. During this same period of time the North Vietnamese have not only rebuilt industrial establishments, they have reinstalled vast anti-aircraft defences, have rebuilt military and na-

(Continued on page 93)

NEWS & VIEWS: 74 **CORRESPONDENCE: 75**
EDITORIALS: 75
SALAZAR: TOTAL REPRESSION: *Joseph A. Page* **77**
WHY WALLACE?: *Michael Novak* **78**
REPUDIATION NOW: *William Pfaff* **79**
IS THE POPE INFALLIBLE?: *Bishop Francis Simons* **81**
PRELATES AND THE PILL: *Douglas J. Roche* **84**
THE POT O'BOYLE'S OVER: *John B. Mannion* **85**
THE SCREEN: *Philip T. Hartung* **87**
BOOKS: **88**

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor*
JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
PETER STEINFELS: *Associate Editor* OONA SULLIVAN: *Associate Editor*
ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant* JONATHAN EISEN: *Editorial Assistant*
MICHAEL NOVAK: *Associate Editor (At Large)* WILFRID SHEED: *Books*
GERALD WEALES: *Drama* PHILIP T. HARTUNG: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*
ROBERT BARRAT: *Paris* GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN: *Rome* J. M. CAMERON: *Great Britain*

EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher*
JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Second-class postage paid in Philadelphia, Pa. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and July-September, by Commonweal Publishing Co, 232 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016 MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1968 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc. US and Canada, $10 a year. Foreign $12. Single copies 35¢.

THINKING ABOUT NOVEMBER

The agonized liberal has become a figure of fun. Balancing out his scruples on the Left and Right, he is the casuist of the political realm. He is both Milktoast and Machiavelli at the same time. Better to be militant for Wallace, or for Eldridge Cleaver, or for not voting at all, than to be caught discussing, seriously, the relative "merits" of Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon. The discussion inevitably sounds like a Feiffer cartoon.

Yet there is no want of cause of agonizing. In any presidential election year, the length of the campaign and the weight of the hoopla tends to paralyze political forces even as they are mobilized. Energies are channeled into the election of candidates rather than the attack on social problems. With a few exceptions, the prevailing tendency in presidential elections has been to clothe all issues in terms of the liberal American ethos, to assume a consensus on the dominant themes of American life, and to exaggerate marginal differences in grandiose terms. However well this may have worked in the past, the system is clearly moving into a kind of constitutional crisis. The candidacy of McCarthy, the radical militancy of blacks, and in a sense even the campaign of Wallace are manifestations of the inability of the politics of assumed consensus to represent large segments of America. This is the Year of Exclusion.

Agonizing becomes ridiculous only when it is a substitute for action. Yet what action is possible? When the major parties propped up Nixon and Humphrey as their candidates, the real election was over. Certainly the Left had lost, and probably the majority of Americans as well, if one is to judge by the September Harris poll showing 57 percent of the voters preferring someone other than the three presidential candidates. What remains is a shell, a husk, an anti-climax which serves to legitimize the undemocratic process by which the victor of November 5 will be duly considered our

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

democratically chosen president. But husk, anti-climax, ritual of legitimization, the November choice cannot be entirely ignored. It will, after all, determine who is to become the most powerful and, negatively, the most dangerous man in the world for the next four years.

Two strategies for November—perhaps two escape hatches would be a better way of putting it—deserve rejection. The first is a *politique de pire,* a conscious encouragement of polarization by, say, a vote for Wallace. Some New Lefters plumped for this tactic in the Reagan-Brown contest two years ago in California; the Revolution appears no closer today. The flipside of the *politique de pire* is the always seductive Lesser Evil, a principle with its legitimate usages but which can be marshalled to serve almost any cause, given the eternal availability of evils which are "worser." The United States *is* endangered by a rising Rightism, but it is not therefore the moment to rally unthinkingly to Humphrey (or Nixon) as the lesser evil. Fascism or pseudo-fascism in America is not a short-run danger as much as a long-term menace. And the lesser evil will not be anything less than a candidate or a political position which holds hope of a long-term resolution of some of America's central problems.

On the other hand, two arguments do seem to have a real relevance to the November choice. The first is simply that Hubert Humphrey would probably be a better president than Richard Nixon. The *New York Times* editorial hailing Humphrey as "an internationalist with a broad and imaginative outlook" sounded somewhat ridiculous, unless one puts a peculiar connotation on that word, "imaginative." Nevertheless, Nixon's economic conservatism, his debt to law-and-order America, and his essential do-nothing outlook contrast with Humphrey's commitment to domestic welfare. The ghettos will suffer more under a Nixon presidency than a Humphrey one.

The counter-argument is the thesis that (a) the Democratic Party is the most likely channel for effective change in America; (b) a Humphrey victory would cut off the possibility of a revitalization of the party; (c) a Humphrey defeat will force the Democrats to turn toward the progressive forces rejected at Chicago. The argument has the merit of placing the presidential election in the context of a general analysis of the possible realignment of political forces in the U.S. It has the drawback of being far from proven historically: defeat could make the Democrats turn further to the Right or simply stay put; witness the defeated Republicans of 1964 who nonetheless sent many of the same delegates to the convention in 1968.

A vote for Humphrey? A vote for Nixon? The arguments already given are essentially pulling-the-lever arguments. But elections are more than casting votes. They are exercises in political propaganda and, now and then, discourse. They are efforts at political mobilization and organization. They are intellectual and emotional commitments which last beyond voting day and presumably are what gives the entire business significance. In regard to all these factors, many liberals have already voted, no matter what lever, if any, they pull in November. They have already voted "no," even if no such choice is on the ballot. Unlike 1964 when they rushed to form committees in support of Lyndon Johnson (that is to say, in opposition to Goldwater) these liberals are refusing to accept and legitimate the system which has given them such a dismal choice. They are refusing to trade the future for a bowl of November pottage.

Their choice is the right one. The issue is not who wins this election—even though it is important that liberal and left candidates for Congress be supported—but how the incredibly active, creative ferment that has transpired over the last four years can be translated into a programmatic, responsible and politically relevant political movement that can wrest concessions from both parties during the four-year trial that lies ahead—while it begins the arduous process of forming its own political party on a long-range basis.

The urgency of this tactic cannot be underestimated. The McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns demonstrated how effective and even exhilarating a political movement can become—if it speaks to the needs of the people, who themselves feel an intimate tie with the final results of their labors. A radical movement cannot overcome in the short run the alienating features of our current electoral procedures, but it can overcome the kind of despairing alienation that the two major candidates so clearly represent; and it can pose a humanistic, responsive alternative to the politics of racism and militarism. Those, we feel, are the issues regardless of who is elected president on November 5. It will be a long haul.

OH SAY, CAN YOU SEE . . .

The Washington police who charged Yippie leader Abbie Hoffman with desecrating the flag because he was wearing a red, white and blue shirt are, of course, ab-

DR. KYLE HASELDEN

It is with sorrow that we learn of the death of the Rev. Kyle Haselden, editor of *The Christian Century.* During his eight-year tenure with *The Christian Century,* Dr. Haselden was concerned with a wide range of issues, from interracial justice and church-state relations to church renewal and the Protestant-Catholic dialogue —all in keeping with his effort "to relate the Christian gospel to the whole range of human experience." He will be missed by all who knew him. May he rest in peace.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

solutely in order. So are the New York police, who threw a 16-year-old bookstore clerk in jail because his store exhibited a poster substituting a peace symbol for the block of stars on an American flag. No doubt a few hundred similar arrests will go a long way toward stopping crime in the streets, bringing peace to the ghettos, and reestablishing respect for our public officials. Seeing as nothing can be done about the war in Vietnam or rampant racism here, why not at least begin with respect for the flag? Why not indeed?

We only hope the government will fearlessly follow the logic of its principles and make a clean sweep of it. What about the flag decals callously glued to that part of automobiles familiarly known as the "bumper"? What about that convention bunting, and those star-spangled hats perched on the heads of delegates? Talk about desecration!

No use in fooling ourselves. The evil is deeply rooted. After all, decades of school children have been duped into picturing our national symbol as a shaggy, bearded type, disrespectfully clothed in flag-like togs, and irreverently known (that's the way these hippies talk) as "Uncle."

Salazar: The Importance Of Total Repression

Reflecting what amounts to an advanced state of anesthetization, the Portuguese body politic barely reacted to the removal of Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar as President of the Council of Ministers. When a blood clot disabled the durable dictator, the reins of government passed smoothly to Dr. Marcelo Caetano. The 62-year-old professor of law has apparently assumed all the extraordinary powers wielded by the 79-year-old former professor of economics since 1928.

Although Caetano has spoken vaguely about the possibility of changes in policy, it is most unlikely that he will do anything to jeopardize the order and tranquillity which have long characterized Portuguese life.

For several years public interest in the succession problem has been minimal despite Salazar's age—in vivid contrast to the freewheeling discussion and speculation over the same question in Spain. Recent events amply justify this widespread apathy.

The ease of transition from Salazar to Caetano underscores the firm hold which the "establishment" exercises over Portugal. A closely-knit oligarchy controls most of the economy and much of the land. These fortunate few maintain close ties, often through family relationships, with the military and the Church.

For forty years Salazar has rendered effective service to this formidable power structure. His economic policies, with their emphasis upon stability and a balanced budget, discouraged growth and kept intact the concentration of wealth in the hands of the oligarchs. Strict press censorship, the virtual prohibition of political activity by opposition groups and students, and the efficiency of Portugal's secret police apparatus combined to assure law and order at home. A hard-line colonial policy maintained continued control over the riches of Angola and Mozambique, as well as the use of these vast African territories as markets for Portuguese products.

Salazar had little difficulty in handling his political opponents within Portugal. He ruthlessly suppressed the Communists, and utterly frustrated the Social Democrats and progressive Catholics. Members of the latter groups literally could not have lunch together without secret police surveillance. The Catholic opposition, despite some encouragement from younger priests, could count on no help from the ultra-conservative hierarchy, which remained indifferent while the regime crushed the efforts of anyone attempting to practice the social teachings of Leo XIII and John XXIII.

Control of the press was so severe that only the most indirect forms of criticism of the government escaped pre-censorship. For example, last April a Lisbon paper reported that Dom Hélder Câmara, the progressive Brazilian archbishop, had just passed through the airport for the 38th time without stopping to visit Lisbon.

Salazar's intransigence in Africa led to outbreaks of insurgency in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. A firm military response, aided by the tendency of guerrilla groups to fight among themselves, has eliminated any immediate threat to Portuguese rule. But how long the Portuguese will be able to maintain an army of 120,000 men in Africa and devote 40% of their budget to defense and counter-insurgency is another question.

Criticisms of Salazar's economic policies came from younger economists, technicians and businessmen who urged government measures to spur growth and development. But the burden of military operations in Africa put an effective damper on their efforts.

Premier Caetano must cope with the same pressures which tested Salazar. A widely traveled man, Caetano has had much more contact with the outside world than his predecessor, whose trips abroad were limited to a Paris conference on economics which he attended before entering the government, and consultations with Franco just across the Spanish border during World War II. Yet any temptation to modernize Portugal's political, economic or social structures must be weighed against the probable consequences of change, however gradual.

The lesson to be derived from Salazar's remarkable longevity as a dictator is the importance of total repression. The great majority of the Portuguese people have been rendered politically unconscious. The slightest relaxation of the ban on public opposition to and criticism of the government would invite further pressures for in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

creased freedom, especially from students and intellectuals. It is inconceivable that the oligarchs and their allies would tolerate such a serious threat to stability.

Similar risks would follow an economic policy geared to industrial and agricultural development. The Portuguese workers and peasants today enjoy an abysmally low standard of living which they accept with unusual docility. They derive their principal distractions from the so-called "three f's:" *fado* (plaintive popular songs); *futebol* (Portuguese soccer teams have enjoyed great success in recent international competitions); and Fátima (religious spectacles). Any increase in real income might stimulate popular expectations to the point of unrest.

The economic and psychological importance of the colonies precludes any softening of the Portuguese attitude toward Africa. Caetano has already expressed his determination "not to neglect the defense of the overseas provinces."

The conclusion seems inescapable that significant change within Portugal is more apt to stem from external events rather than internal pressures. Thus an upheaval in Spain could provide the political opposition with direct access to the Portuguese border and a means of sustaining resistance to government repression. A major recession in Western Europe could substantially reduce the in-flow of remittances from Portuguese workers who have emigrated, and the return of large numbers of these emigrants could have a disruptive effect on the economy. Finally, the increased and concerted efforts of the black insurgents in Africa could conceivably make the defense of the colonies financially unbearable.

One manifestation of the Portuguese concern over the potential impact of external forces is an extensive public relations campaign in the U.S. Its purpose is to counter any criticism of Portuguese policies and to promote Portugal's image as a tourist paradise. Under the management of a high-priced New York firm, the campaign has scored successes such as a series on the "Today" TV show, originating in Lisbon and presenting a highly favorable picture of Portugal. In addition, the small group of conservative Congressmen who have been espousing the cause of Rhodesia and South Africa in Washington have rallied to the support of Portugal.

Membership in NATO and the leasing of an air base in the Azores bind Portugal to the U.S. in a manner which has caused surprisingly little embarrassment. The inclusion of a dictatorship with totalitarian overtones within the "free world" would seem to be one of the grosser hypocrisies of cold-war rhetoric.

Yet U.S. support of Portugal goes even deeper. American companies freely invest in Portugal and Portuguese Africa. A steady influx of American tourists provides dollars which enable the Portuguese to offset an unfavorable balance of trade. Portugal sells more than 60% of the Angolan coffee crop in the American market, and earns from it more than $50 million, or about one-third the cost of counter-insurgency operations in Africa.

JOSEPH A. PAGE

(Joseph A. Page, a member of the Law faculty at Georgetown University, spent time in Portugal this spring. He is a contributor to the Atlantic Monthly, New Republic, Nation *and various other publications.)*

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

BEYOND THE FRINGE

WHY WALLACE?

When the major candidates in an election year cry "unity!" it sets one to imagining the sources of disunity. It makes me think of Andy Restek, who runs the Texaco station in a Pennsylvania steel town. His brother Pete works in the mills. His other brother Steve, I think, is a manager at the local Sears or some other chain. In any case, I am told that all three Restek brothers are voting for Wallace this year. Why? I ask myself. And why do they hate the hippies so much, and praise the Chicago cops?

Andy Restek has two kids in college—one at State College, and one at the local branch of the University of Pittsburgh. He wipes the grease from his hands as he talks about them, and pushes back his heavy rimless glasses. He is rather proud that his children will all go to college—and a little ashamed to say that he is glad they won't be gas station attendants. He envisages Bob as a clerk in a bank (as he is, summers) and later as an officer; Bob's a pretty bright and impressive boy, with personality and presence. He hopes Sally will marry a nice, solid fellow with sound ideas. Since Andy's parents came to America with nothing, he's rather passionately uncritical about the nation. He has a fairly comfortable house and nice lawn, a new Plymouth, and the youngest boy is a much touted junior halfback.

Andy served in Italy in 1944-45, and has served as an officer in the local VFW. He knows he has worked hard, and has succeeded. He lives in a better neighborhood than where he began, and he owns the station. He's been a good mechanic and has a lot of loyal customers. The neighborhood where his station is located, however, is run-down and the ugly houses that are not unoccupied (windows broken, doors boarded up) are inhabited by passive, silent blacks. There is no need to rehearse Andy's attitudes to blacks. "I'm no racist or bigot; it's only that . . . " From that point onward he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merely reports the evidence of his own senses, as his perception shapes that evidence: dirty, passive, strange, unreliable, careless. Andy points out that Harry Scott, the black man who works at the Esso station seven blocks away, has what it takes; he works hard, which only shows they can do it if they want, and proves that Andy isn't prejudiced. It's the majority of Negroes who are lazy that cause the trouble. Andy doesn't see any difference between the starting place of any black man and his own starting place. The only difference he perceives is one of initiative and brains.

Andy responds to Wallace, I suspect, because Wallace puts things exactly in the way Andy's experience has put them. Andy doesn't understand sociological or psychological or economic theories. But he catches the tone in which all those people on television or in the papers talk about such things. They don't say that they're out to destroy sound family values, or common sense, or tough, hard work and painfully acquired respectability. Educated people talk with a kind of code. They try to sound harmless, but you know they're trying to take your world from you. You can almost feel them screwing you; you see it in their complacent eyes. They know so much.

Andy trusts his own experience. He knows what he knows. And he likes his world, his home, his America.

He is very worried about Sally. He saw a picture of a longhaired boy in her wallet and threw her out of the house for several hours. He doesn't dare allow himself to think that she has been taking pot, but sometimes his stomach tightens. He tries to get her to cut her long hair and not to wear it straight, and hates when she merely tells him he's old-fashioned and doesn't respect his word as law. He blames himself for working too hard—American materialism, his pastor would say—and not being as strict with her as his parents had been with him. She would *never* have talked back to them that way. She hates church so much, and refuses to go to confession, that he knows there is trouble brewing. If she gets pregnant . . . he can't allow himself to think that, and strikes out in fury at every manifestation of the kind of youth he despises: shiftless, dirty, uninhibited, smart-alecky, superior, aiding our enemies. The outrage he feels is so deep he can't understand how anyone in his right mind would not scream out in anguish at what is happening to America. He wants authority to tighten up, in part to assuage his own guilt for having been too soft with his kids.

He watches with trepidation the books that Bob brings home. Bob is majoring in Business Administration and Finance. But Andy is suspicious of some of the poetry and novels he brings home, and books with words like "humanism" on the jacket. In Andy's experience, "humanism" has been one of the code words for softheaded thinking, pornography, and the collapse of authority.

Andy's brothers Pete and Steve largely agree. They grow bitter often when they get together. Their wives hate to hear them begin to talk politics. Even miniskirts —much as the men joke about them man-to-man— have become for them one more symbol of the collapse of values. And Hollywood and television and the liberal reporters. The hometown newspaper is solidly conservative; but the lurid ads for the movies still announce the general sickness. It's just like the priests say. Secularism is the collapse of all decency and morals and authority. We need a man who talks sense and isn't softheaded about authority, to clean this country up from coast to coast. That way, we can all have the America we worked so hard to build, which gave us what success we have.

Andy, Pete and Steve are all for the underprivileged, but (they say) let them prove themselves by work, the way we did. "Racism" and "bigot," they have come to think, are other code words by which the white-handed, effeminate Harvard men want to call the good people evil, and win the allegiance of the blacks for their own political and unstated purposes. MICHAEL NOVAK

(Michael Novak, author of The Open Church, *Belief and Unbelief, and, most recently,* A Time to Build [*Macmillan*]*, and chairman of the humanities program at State University College, Old Westbury, New York, contributes a regular column to these pages.)*

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

REPUDIATION NOW

This election provides a referendum on the established liberal leadership of this country—on the liberalism of the Johnson Administration, the trade union movement, the Democratic Party as it now exists. Thus the election will end an era without, I think, establishing a new generation of political ideas and programs. It will not restore domestic peace, although it may provide the essential precondition for that peace. The divisions within this country are deeper, more irreconcilable, than any in a century, and the substance of reconciliation is not yet here.

Richard Nixon has by far the greater opportunity to ease our national wounds, but by conservative retrenchment and common sense, muting conflicts. He affords little hope of creating a new political consensus, a program of innovation. Only Eugene McCarthy offered a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chance of recreated consensus on new terms. He carried the disaffected left wing of the liberals together with a profoundly significant moderate and conservative constituency. He was, in fact, philosophically the most conservative presidential candidate in the modern American political experience. He easily transcended the structuring of issues and interests which has dominated our politics since 1933 and now is so desperately obsolete. He reestablished grounds for national hope and brought honor back; and we cannot be grateful enough.

His bitterest enemies were, of course, from exactly that liberal movement which today has become the crucial reactionary force in American politics. George Wallace's populist and racist movement is an ephemeral coalition of protest, without serious intellectual content or program. The old liberals, on the other hand, remain at the center of national power and policy. As their established programs of domestic reform and foreign intervention—"nation-building" and counterinsurgency abroad —have failed or been proven irrelevant, they have turned defensive, unconfidently belligerent. Rightly convinced of their own good intentions, they treat criticism on the left as betrayal and, as in Vietnam, stubbornly—if inevitably—reinforce their policy defeats.

The intellectual and political exhaustion of contemporary American liberalism provides no reason for rejoicing; we are far from possessing any coherent or serious structure of alternative policy. Yet for all the distinguished accomplishments of this liberalism over the past 30 years—the liberalism of Mr. Humphrey, of George Ball, of George Meany—it must now be put out of power. It is sterile at best, and at worst a destructive force in opposition to change.

Foreign policy may be the least critical of the issues in this election. A popular decision, a negative one uniting right and left, has already been expressed: the country wants out of Vietnam, no more Vietnams, a general retrenchment and disengagement from foreign interventions. The problem is which candidate will find himself freer to carry out this mandate. What the alternative policy would be, its positive assumptions and programs, remains a mystery. But retreat and retrenchment may be enough of a task to occupy the next four years. Such is the bitter—and embittering—outcome of 20 postwar years of vast ambition and courageous commitment to international reform. But we simply failed the intellectual challenge of the world leadership we so insistently claimed. The world, I fear, will not be sorry to see us turn inward.

If Richard Nixon becomes President, our neo-isolationism seems likely to assume a certain fortress America character. Bad as this is, it seems to me better than the moral collaboration with Russia and the unadmitted hegemonal tendencies which are the latterday trends of established policy. Better for world stability as well as better for this country's ultimate interest and self-respect.

But if neo-isolationism might ease our national crisis, other divisions within the country are harder to resolve because practical solutions seem unavailable. Could even a radical and brilliantly successful program of social and economic reform cure the race crisis? The black community now is politicized, rhetorically dominated by a kind of revolutionary demand which goes beyond practical or political possibility. There is no list of changes which, accomplished, would satisfy the elites now leading the ghettos. Their real demand is for a moral and emotional fulfillment which has little to do with political programs. At the same time the white reaction has taken on an important new dimension. In the New York school crisis this fall, community control of the schools—black power —was not primarily opposed by conservative white groups but by white liberalism: by a trade union movement insisting on those principles of job protection, civil service procedure, and due process in employment disputes which were the liberal achievements of the 1930s and 1940s. Once again the conflict was not on the old liberal-conservative lines but between the dominant liberal community and a variety of post-liberal or anti-liberal challenges. And the challengers have no coherent program. There is no "New Party" because no shared structure of assumptions and belief exists among the opposition.

Attacked from the left as well as the right, the old liberals seem to me more capable of erratic behavior and drastic attempts at self-justification than the Nixon Republicans. As President, Nixon would have disarmed the right and would be capable of innovation and experimentation—if he had the brains and courage to try. As President he would have succeeded as the law and order candidate; he could afford radical measures of reconciliation and reform which would bring down on Humphrey a right-wing onslaught.

I am making the best case possible for Nixon, but without really believing in it. There hardly is reason for faith that Nixon possesses the vision, or that his wing of the Republican party commands the intellectual resources, even to begin, in the next four years, any real redefinition and restructuring of American politics. If he were frustrated and attacked, Nixon—like Lyndon Johnson before him—might also turn to drastic and violent attempts to overcome opposition at home or abroad. But the Republican Party record and temperament traditionally are cautious; take from that such consolation as you can.

If the next four years can provide the United States with some easing of pressures, an end to the Vietnam war and a recaptured sense that change is possible, then we will have won the indispensable preliminary to new action and a new politics. Little as this would be, I cannot imagine that even it is possible without that catharsis which would be provided by an electoral repudiation of the men who lead this country today. WILLIAM PFAFF

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IS THE POPE INFALLIBLE?

Errors are unavoidable and in most cases

not nearly as fatal as they are made out to be

BISHOP FRANCIS SIMONS

The Church's claim to infallibility, if it can be proved at all, must be proved by means of the New Testament records and very earliest tradition. (Since the earliest tradition in this matter is only a vague reflection of New Testament teaching, we need not pay attention to it.) As far as evidence goes, the New Testament books are almost the only source of certain knowledge about Christ and his revelation. If there is an infallible teaching authority in the Church, it must be demonstrated by evidence from these books. It is not infallibility which can give certainty to these books, it is they that must give us certainty about infallibility. They are the foundation on which our knowledge of the fact and major contents of the revelation and infallibility is built. If the New Testament records are unreliable, or unable to give us certain knowledge, the doctrine of infallibility must also remain uncertain. Far from adding certainty to the records, its own certainty depends entirely on these records.

Infallibility is, moreover, only one of the propositions we are confronted with in the bible. Many, if not all, major facts of Christ's life and teaching are contained more clearly in the New Testament bible than infallibility. By that very fact they are more certain than infallibility and cannot gain their certainty from it. At most, it could communicate its own degree of certainty to propositions less clearly contained in the bible than infallibility itself. It cannot give added certainty to those truths which are expressed more clearly in the bible than itself. It is, therefore, false to say that without infallibility we would have no firm foundation of faith, no means of knowing with certainty what the gospel contains, since all or most of the major facts and teachings are more certain than infallibility.

For the same reason it cannot serve as a better foundation to faith than the biblical records themselves; it is a weaker foundation. It cannot be stronger than the foundation on which it rests: that foundation is the historical reliability of the authentic biblical records. Insofar as the act of faith requires a prior certainty about the fact of revelation and its major or essential contents, this certainty is not provided by infallibility but by the records themselves and their demonstrable historical trustworthiness. To be sure, the fact that the whole Church and all its scholars agree on understanding the records in the same way strongly adds to the presumption that their understanding of them is right. A consensus adds enormously to *a priori* verisimilitude. But the presumption that they are right on the doctrine of infallibility is not as great as the presumption that they are right on other facts even more clearly contained in the records. Nor is there any consensus about the doctrine of infallibility being contained in the records, except within the Catholic Church. The consensus on other major points spreads beyond the Catholic Church and its scholars to all the other major Christian churches.

We cannot avoid basing our certainty of the fact of revelation and its major contents on a human judgment; even the doctrine of infallibility cannot be known except by a human judgment on what the records contain about it. Even if the records prove that the Church is infallible, the proof itself gives us no more than ordinary, not "infallible," certainty. It is, therefore, a vain attempt to use the doctrine of infallibility as a means to give us an infallible certainty about the fact of revelation and its contents. To make our certainty about the revelation, and

MOST REV. FRANCIS SIMONS *is Roman Catholic Bishop of Indore, India. This article is excerpted from his book* Infallibility and the Evidence, *to be published October 25 by Templegate Publishers, Springfield, Ill.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our primary act of faith, depend on infallibility ties us up in a vicious circle. It is evident therefore that the primary, truly fundamental, problem is not infallibility but the trustworthiness of the New Testament books. Ultimately our certainty can only be an ordinary, not an infallible, one.

Against this the following objection has been raised. "If on the grounds of Scripture and tradition I accept the doctrine of infallibility as morally certain (let's say 90 percent certainty), then a doctrine that boasted only 40 percent certainty from other sources, if backed by the Church's infallibility should jump not just to 90 percent certainty (this would be according to the above argumentation) but to 100 percent certainty, since infallibility came in. In other words, I can accept or reject infallibility on its own merits, but if I happen to accept infallibility, even though I achieve only moral certainty, I am not free to reject doctrines proposed by the infallible magisterium, since this is just the meaning of infallibility" . . . Here an attempt is made to achieve 100 percent certainty on the basis of a proposition which is only 90 percent certain. This is sheer sophistry. It is similar to the attempt to make acts of faith absolutely certain by relying on God's truthfulness, when the fact of revelation is in fact only morally certain. In the total act of assent we cannot, as rational beings, abstract from the knowledge that for us the fact of revelation, or of infallibility, is only 90 percent certain. In the case of the act of faith we can say that we can never withdraw our act of assent because God let us down, since he never lets us down; but we can be let down, and often are, by mistaking non-revealed propositions for revealed. In the same way if propositions proposed as infallible prove to be wrong, we must either conclude that we were mistaken about the existence of infallibility or that we were under the wrong impression that infallibility was involved in the doctrines proposed. The latter is in fact what theologians have started asserting on a grand scale, as we have already noted. But we cannot make a chain stronger than its weakest link.

The Basis of Faith

From the foregoing it is clear that not infallibility but ordinary certainty is the basis of our faith, at least as far as the necessary knowledge of the fact of revelation and most or all its essential parts is concerned. We have mistaken the need of certainty for the need of infallibility. Actually we are certain without it, and infallibility itself is less certain than the fact and major components of the revelation.

Inadvertently the need and role of infallibility have been much exaggerated in the Catholic scheme of things. As mentioned already, even if we ascribe infallibility to the ecclesiastical magisterium, this infallibility does not reach all the way down to the individual believer. His participation in an infallible knowledge of the Church can only be a fallible one. Experience shows how fallible. The ordinary teaching that reaches the individual Catholic is teaching exercised by parents, priests, catechists, others. None of this is infallible, though most of it will be in conformity with the official teaching of the Church. It does not save Catholics from error. Each has his very limited knowledge and large dose of misconceptions. Infallibility does not prevent this infinite variety in the mixture of error and truth. Only a few scholars know the "theological note" of what is taught in the catechisms and from the pulpits; they know what is proposed by the Church's magisterium as infallible doctrine and what degree of certainty or doubt is attached to the rest. Most Catholics are under the impression that it is all infallibly true. The Church's infallibility therefore does not take away the fallibility of the teachers and the taught. Nor can this defect be eliminated by saying that it is Christ himself or the Holy Spirit who speaks through the Church. She herself teaches that the Spirit's assistance is a negative one which prevents her from teaching as revealed and certain what in fact is not revealed or true. There is no question of her being in a positive way God's voice. But even if she were in her infallible utterances God's voice, these do not reach the individual Catholic through infallible channels. His act of faith can therefore not be based on an infallible knowledge of what God has revealed. . . .

One argument for infallibility is that if the Church were not infallible, it could become the victim of error. . . . It seems we have an excessive fear of error, even of temporary errors of secondary importance. Through its faithfulness to the original records the Church is always able to correct errors that go against the substance of the gospel. Infallibility has not succeeded in saving the Church, its popes, bishops, and other members, from error and ignorance. The former literalistic interpretation of the bible was cause of a great mass of errors about the contents of the bible . . . Quite a number of doctrines which were generally believed to be part of the revealed deposit, had later to be abandoned or revised. Belief in infallibility made the correction only more difficult. History proves that errors are unavoidable and in most cases not nearly as fatal as they are made out to be. Many are innocuous or do only little harm. Ignorance of the solution of urgent problems does much more harm than error in problems that are not urgent, yet the Church is not spared her large dose of ignorance. She has been as impotent as others in finding a fair and effective solution for the problems that beset mankind. Ignorance and error are part of the human condition, also in religious matters, also in the Church. As long as controversies are not resolved, one or all of the contesting schools are in ignorance or error about the points disputed. When the questions are of a theoretical nature, not obviously affecting human needs, no one thinks of the continuation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the uncertainty as a calamity. It affords an opportunity for sharpening theological wits and often produces a number of side benefits, somewhat in the way research done on space projects pays for itself by the new knowledge and technical processes discovered.

Have doctrinal decisions been uniformly healthy or important for the life of the Church? Can anyone say with assurance that devotion to Mary has benefited, been made deeper, healthier, more enlightened, by the dogmatic definitions of her immaculate conception and assumption into heaven? And so it is with other dogmas not evidently contained in the bible, but later taught by councils or popes. Sometimes the attention seems to be drawn away too much from the main contents of gospel teaching towards notions of secondary importance. This seems to be what happened when indulgences were given an excessive weight, when Mary occupied too independent or large a place in popular devotion, when belief in the physical eucharistic presence drove into the background God's presence everywhere, when the grave obligation attached to commandments of the Church distorted in many the sense of sin at the expense of justice and charity, when the absolution from sins so readily obtained in confession lessened rather than heightened in many Catholics the urgency of a true inner conversion.

Reliance on an infallible teaching authority has not been such a healthy thing. It seems to have been largely responsible for the passive attitude towards the gospel message and for an excessive timidity in tackling new problems. Instead of being a power towards progress and salutary change, the Church turned into an institution fearful of change and concerned with safeguarding its own positions. Thus more than once she dragged her feet, and had to be forced by overwhelming evidence to change her stand, after most of the world had already gone ahead of her. And these were all positions that were not an evident part of Christ's gospel as recorded in the New Testament, but positions which she had generally taught and which she could no longer admit as subject to discussion and doubt. It encouraged an attitude of passive waiting for Rome to move, for Rome to find solutions, to clear up messes, to lay down the law. It allowed the work of evangelization to bog down in a sterile attempt to introduce a foreign organization, with foreign cultural forms and laws, into ancient cultures to which the Church had the commission to bring the incomparable riches of Christ, not the doubtful blessings of a foreign mold. And because of her claim to infallibility even her good arguments cease to be effective. Behind them outsiders suspect specious pleadings, not honest attempts to find the truth. Because of it the teaching Church has become like a dead thing that must be moved from without by the pressure of public opinion, not like a living thing that moves from within. . . .

A community needs a supreme government. But no one would think of asserting that in order to function efficiently a ruler needs absolute power and a prerogative of infallibility. Supreme power operates more efficiently and securely under a system of checks which guards against ignorance and an abuse of power. The fact that the words of Christ, on which papal power rests, do not mention any limits or checks does not mean that no such limits or checks exist. These are known by a study of the nature of things; the essentials of the gospel, the needs of a church spread over so many cultures, the needs of guarding against an abuse of power. To pretend that an abuse of power—*bona or mala fide*—is not possible or does not do grave harm to the interests of Christ's gospel and the Christian community is to fly in the face of historical facts. Surely one of the factors responsible for the great eastern and western schisms, and perhaps the decisive one, was the claim to full power made by the papacy and its adherents and the way that power was handled. Used in moderation, within the limits imposed by the demands of the gospel and the diverse needs of each sector of the Church, the supreme power is an important factor for unity; but used without those checks it can easily become a major cause of discord and disruption. The story of Solomon's son Roboam seems to have its parallels in ecclesiastical history.

In our times we have become aware of the disadvantages of an authoritarian and the advantages of a democratic organization of power. There is no reason to believe that a similar development is not desirable in the Church, and entirely in accordance with Christ's will, who does not want the Church to be deprived of the benefits of human progress in the uses of power. By using only general expressions he left it to the Church and its leaders to develop a system of the use of power which would best meet the needs of the gospel and of each smaller ecclesiastical unit. Such a supposition does not emasculate Christ's words or abolish the system erected by him. There must be one who holds supreme power, and under him, and united with him, other heads in smaller sectors. Within these general lines there is a wide range of possibilities, including that of a very democratic division and sharing of power. In each age and place that form is best which best meets the needs of the gospel, its spread and effectiveness, the legitimate demands of each nation and culture, and the stage of development of the Christian people. . . .

If the evidence for ecclesiastical infallibility is not valid, the case for papal infallibility collapses with it. In asking us to accept the substance of Christ's gospel, God respected our rational nature and provided first-rate testimony, accessible not only to Christ's contemporaries, but also to us. Is it possible to believe that for knowledge of secondary importance he should demand our blind submission to an *a priori* most improbable infallible authority without providing overwhelmingly convincing evidence for its existence?

18 October 1968: 83

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vatican II is alive and well in Canada

PRELATES AND THE PILL

DOUGLAS J. ROCHE

The only way to understand what the Canadian bishops did in Winnipeg in late September is to dredge from our memories the Second Vatican Council. From the moment of the announcement of *Humanae Vitae,* the Canadian hierarchy was under heavy pressure from conservatives to back publicly the Pope's total ban on contraceptives. But they said nothing, and it was that initial decision which allowed dissent to spill across the land, all of it taken into account at the bishops' semi-annual meeting. The final result was a 2,500-word statement upholding the free use of conscience. The Canadian statement, at this writing, is the most positive interpretation of the birth control encyclical yet issued by a national hierarchy.

After several drafts, midnight sessions, and a dash of the "sacred politics" that characterized Vatican II, the bishops issued a pastoral direction which, in effect, ends the contraception issue for the man in the pew. Facing up to their obligation to clarify "difficult problems of morality," the bishops managed to proclaim "solidarity with the Pope" and at the same time "solidarity with the faithful." Their statement comes down to two main points:

The bishops uphold Pope Paul's teaching on the prohibition of contraceptives as an ideal.

They also uphold the right of dissent, which will permit Catholics who honestly follow their consciences in the use of contraceptives to receive holy communion without going to confession first.

The statement was possible because the bishops' administrative board ruled at the outset that Vatican II procedures would be followed. This meant that the eight bishops on the theological commission, after hearing submissions from such diverse groups as the Catholic Physicians' Guild of Manitoba, 351 Western Canadian priests and the directors of the bishops' own secretariat, were empowered to submit a schema to the general assembly as the basis for discussion.

Periti were appointed to the commission. In addition to two of the top theologians in Canada (Sheridan of Toronto and Naud of Montreal), two other men, who came to protest the encyclical (Bernard Daly, director of the bishops' Family Life Bureau, and Father Ora McManus, chairman of the Western Canadian Priests' Conference), were invited to sit in on the drafting process.

The basic draft was liberal and the bishops gave it tentative approval. Then, after considering the bishops' criticisms and suggestions, the theological commission buckled under conservative pressure and returned to the floor a revised draft which tried to have it both ways: total support for the encyclical and the free exercise of conscience to dissent from it. The periti objected in particular to one sentence: "We are at one with the Holy Father in his teaching and pastoral concern about conjugal love and responsible parenthood."

Bishop Remi De Roo, co-chairman of the theological commission, took the liberal case to the floor and won by one vote. The critical passage was changed to read: "We are in accord with the teaching of the Holy Father concerning the dignity of married life, and the necessity of a truly Christian relationship between conjugal love and responsible parenthood. We share the pastoral concern which has led him to offer counsel and direction in an area which, while controverted, could hardly be more important to human happiness." Solidarity with the Pope —but no endorsement of paragraph 14 of *Humanae Vitae.*

No Public Opposition

Under the firm leadership of the chairman, Bishop Alexander Carter, the statement went on to secure the necessary two-thirds majority. Official Church teachers were enjoined "to refrain from public opposition to the encyclical." But this sentence was followed by another emphasizing the right of theologians to pursue their research.

The Canadian statement was hailed as confirmation that the conciliar process did not end with Vatican II but is at the very heart of our life in the Church in Canada. The bishops have by no means given a free license for contraception. Rather, they are calling Catholics to a new maturity, a new sense of personal responsibility for their acts, leaving people free to follow the promptings of their informed consciences.

The statement risks attack as promoting situation ethics, downgrading authority and pulling the rug out from under Pope Paul. On the contrary, its supporters insist, conscience demands constant enlightenment by the

DOUGLAS J. ROCHE *is editor of the* Western Catholic Reporter *and author of* The Catholic Revolution *(McKay).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Church; the authority of the bishops' teaching, arrived at through the collegial process, shines even more clearly now than it did before; and, finally, they postulate a union with the Pope that puts their full intelligence at his service.

The Canadians' statement will put enormous pressure on the American hierarchy, for it is ludicrous to imagine that one can morally use a contraceptive in Windsor but not across the river in Detroit. All the bishops would say publicly about Cardinal O'Boyle is that "his actions are not in accord with our convictions." Privately, many Canadian bishops have expressed horror at what he is doing. Not the least of the effects of the Canadian statement is to challenge the Church in the U.S. to end the simplistic anti-intellectualism that currently has it on a collision course with disaster.

The present controversy is only a beginning

THE POT O'BOYLE'S OVER

JOHN B. MANNION

The scene now playing in Washington might have been scripted by Lewis Carroll—to whom no offense is intended. It is a mad scene, almost beyond belief as the actors move step by predictable step toward a tragic finale foreseen by everyone as unnecessary and undesirable. And what has been played on stage to a fascinated public and an attentive press gives but a pallid hint of the chaos and fury backstage.

Cardinal O'Boyle has flat gone and blown his cool. The will of God, the authority of the Pope, and the traditional birth control teaching of the Church have all been attacked, scorned, and ignored. A Defender of the Faith has arisen. He must rule, judge and enforce as God wishes him to, even if it means ending up alone in the rubble of rebellion. There is no choice but one: buy it or get out.

Behind closed doors, the beleaguered archbishop snaps and snarls in his high-pitched brogue and berates his dissenting priests singly and in groups. He simply cannot understand either their position or their sticking to it in the face of authority and dire consequences. Their use of the news media infuriates him. There is little support forthcoming from his fellow bishops. More and more lay people are resisting and protesting. The situation has escalated beyond control and the world stares in daily fascination at the unprecedented opposition to Church authority.

Meanwhile, back in the rectories, the dissenting priests brood, worry and consult endlessly. Their tension is severe, anxiety great. They moan about the palace guard and, occasionally, rant about the Cardinal, who now looms for some as a cross between Genghis Khan, King Lear and a neurotic Irish moralist. They sweat about their repeated decisions, worry about scandal, and pray for guidance and courage.

JOHN B. MANNION, *former executive secretary of The Liturgical Conference, is with the U.S. Department of Commerce.*

The fear that gnaws most deeply and relentlessly is the prospect of not being a priest. It takes more than a moment's thought to trace all the threads of a priest's bag. Young men surrendered eagerly to a formation that would profoundly affect their self-identities, life-orientation and, indeed, the very structure of their personalities. Years of effective education and conditioning produced as permanently focused a commitment as the Church can hope to achieve. The actual experience of the ministry has been for most a reinforcement of all they ever wanted. Few laymen ever know—or seek—such total identification of profession and personal life. All this is what the dissenters have laid on the block—at a psychic price beyond estimation.

The Cardinal's own instincts, whipped into shape in an earlier age, tell him something of this price and convince him that no priest worthy of the name will ride the Church's tiger to the bitter end. He believes that the front pages will sooner or later turn to other matters and allow the Church to resume business as usual. His opposition is equally convinced that it is rewriting the rule book. This extreme polarization has stretched the line of communication to the limits of tolerance, and each new supporting group or statement or development adds to the entrenching weight of both positions. The situation is a gross cliché come to life and run rampant.

A Willingness to Challenge

Less apparent is the shock to the Church's credibility. Among lay people generally—those who stay home from rallies and don't organize groups in support of whatever the Pope may say or do—a new attitude seems to be developing. There is a growing willingness to challenge what the Church does or teaches when it crosses the grain of life. The tests will be common sense, science and the consensus of human thought and experience. As

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Authority Crisis

"The papal encyclical on birth control is clearly bringing to a head the long-simmering crisis of authority in the Church. In a few countries the national hierarchies have taken a moderate position; the German, Dutch and Belgian bishops have in effect told their people to take the encyclical seriously in forming their consciences, but at the same time have made it clear that *Humanae Vitae* is not the only thing that must be taken into account. The possibility that priests and people may come to conclusions different from those of Pope Paul is not denied.

"Not so in the United States, of course, at least in the instances that are receiving publicity. There may be bishops who are quietly letting their priests follow their own consciences in carrying out their pastoral duties, but proponents of the hard line seem to be dominating the scene. . . .

"Priests in the United States have long been treated too much like children, patted on the head for good behavior but exiled if they in any detail question the way their bishop exercises his authority; the present crisis simply provides a dramatic illustration of this basic reality. Such procedure is inexcusable at any time; in a time when there is a growing shortage of priests and a vocation crisis it is preposterous. . . .

"In the crucial situation in which the Church now finds itself, not only here but in many parts of the world, the Pope could be of great help, mediating, reconciling, bringing extremes together. With regret, however, it must be said that this is exactly what he is not doing. . . . One can only hope that a sense of proportion will return to the Church and its leaders, and it is here that one must hope that the Pope will come to see the harm that is being done in his name and will take the lead in a great work of reconciliation. . . ."

—Commonweal, October 4

Send for a Trial Subscription

--------17 Issues for $2--------

COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016

Please send the next 17 issues to:

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

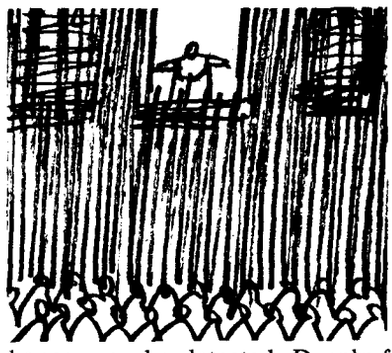
☐ I prefer a full year for $10.

10/18/68

shattering as this will be to reactionary guardians of the past, it seems to be an inexorable trend. We see it at work in the birth control issue, the celibacy debate, the germinal drive for divorce and remarriage, the frequency of intercommunion, and in a number of more remote doctrines, such as purgatory, hell, transubstantiation, Mary as co-redemptrix, and so on. What a decade it is going to be for the O'Boyles of the world!

Which is to say that many Washingtonians sense the present controversy to be but a beginning. Consequently, the juices flow the more urgently, pro and con. All the conventions of public disputes are employed with a passion that betrays the anxiety high stakes have caused among the players. Conservative types are becoming more militant than at any time since Vatican II stunned them into relative silence. Liberals and radicals, angry about the failure of the Church establishment to implement the Council, are more aggressive than ever before in demanding reform and acting as though it has already happened.

The numbers publicly involved are rather small. The mass of laity is, as usual, inactive beyond the formalities of religious observance and, perhaps, the requisites of this or that organization. But it is within the masses that



significant changes can be detected. Deeply felt opinions are being openly expressed and one gathers that the dispute itself is being taken by increasing numbers as sufficient, even compelling, reason for them to make up their own minds and act accordingly. This, of course, is what Cardinal O'Boyle fears and this is what has driven him to deny freedom of conscience in this matter. The very severity of his reaction has prompted a counterreaction.

Typical was the response of an unmarried suburban school counselor who admits freely that she has until recently opposed most of the changes of the last 15 years. "They finally got me to the point where I was prepared to accept belly dancers on the altar," she said, "but this suppression of good priests and good consciences is too much." She has quietly resigned as a CCD teacher, unable and unwilling to defend the Church among teenagers.

The ultimate resolution of the Washington conflict is not likely to be a single dramatic development, rather it seems headed toward a diffused conclusion that will be lost in the excitement over some new crisis. The principal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tragedy of such a cyclic dynamic is the possibility that dozens of courageous clerics will be sloughed off in the process and soon forgotten. This should not be allowed to happen, as the National Association of Priests' Councils apparently agrees. We can expect that groups will be successful in getting its diocesan affiliates to support the dissenters. The greater task is lining up bishops bold and compassionate enough to break some of the unwritten rules of the club and to offer these men a chance to serve.

Meanwhile, what about Cardinal O'Boyle? A continued hardline will only compound the man's problems and further isolate him. Already, the board of trustees of the Catholic University of America has rejected his approach in dealing with dissenting faculty theologians; no other American bishop has a similar situation on his hands; statements by national hierarchies—including our own and Canada's—refrain from moving so far out on the same limb; powerful efforts to have the Cardinal accept mediation have been rebuffed; the growing dispute and public scandal are worrisome burdens. On the other hand, he cannot be expected to retract all he has said, written and published. Between the two extremes all sorts of stratagems are possible, but few come close to ending the controversy, healing the breach and saving face, all at the same stroke. One possibility this earnest and dedicated prelate has surely considered is a gracious and timely resignation. Both age and merit provide positive reasons for him to forego the strains of this particularly difficult archbishopric and his extraordinary career deserves to be concluded without the stain the present controversy augurs. The Cardinal may have been planning just such a notion in a recent letter to his archdiocese, and Father Jack Corrigan, suspended but undaunted leader of the dissident clergy, has explicitly proposed an O'Boyle resignation as the most likely route to resolving the crisis. Honorable though this solution would be, however, the script calls for a few more scenes.

W. E. NEWEY

SONG

I have listened in the summer morning
for the further sounds, the bee's humming,
ripple of wren-call drowned in a skylarking
meadow lark's whirl of wing high whirring;
listening, have heard these murmurings, and
quieter songs: ant's progress through sand
passages, the courteous grass fanned
by wind's vestiges, and clouds mountained
deep as blue. And hearing these, I thought
I heard (hearing no word nor sound) what not
the speaking summer morning could have caught
still-syllabled in eloquence: what—
awakening—we shall sound in worlds where
splendors throng, resound the gracious air.

FUN AT THE FEST

THE SCREEN

Compared to the dissenting rebels at Cannes in May, who went wild in the streets and succeeded in closing that Film Festival, and the leftist clowns whose wildness in the streets went poof on the opening days of the Venice Film Festival in August, the protesters at the New York Film Festival in September were pikers. They distributed a few pamphlets and put a detergent in that handsome fountain in the Lincoln Center complex (the bubbly effect was as pretty as all get-out). But the activists' hearts were not in their work—perhaps because the audiences who came to see the films at Philharmonic Hall were indifferent to their efforts, and, more likely, because the leftists themselves wanted to see the movies. So the Sixth New York Film Festival ran its 12 days with practically no untoward incidents. (One can't consider the booing at the end of some of the programs too untoward; New York audiences insist on expressing themselves, and more films were applauded than booed.)

Under Festival director Amos Vogel and program director Richard Roud (who introduced the visting celebrities and conducted the interesting press conferences with film directors) this Sixth Annual ran more smoothly than ever. While I wouldn't agree with some of the choices of pictures, selected by Vogel, Roud, Andrew Sarris and Susan Sontag, I am always aware that they are limited by what's available (the major American studios won't play ball at all) and perhaps they couldn't get the new pictures made byClaude Berri, François Truffaut and Pier Paolo Pasolini (whose "Teorema" was the best picture I saw at the Venice Fest). A round of applause, by the way, should also go to Beverly Walker of John Springer Associates, who served expertly with her good staff in the extremely difficult job of publicity coordinator, a forbidding job which consists among other things in handling the critics who always seem to want something other and more than they are getting. To none of these people do I attach the blame for the films I would have booed if I were a booing man.

Of the 24 Festival films, I saw 23, and thoroughly disliked the German "Chronicle of Anne Magdalena Bach," which has some fine Bach music and probably the dullest and most uncinematic visuals ever to be displayed in a movie, as the camera concentrates on Bach at the harpsichord or organ or conducting a small orchestra, and occasionally shows a sad-faced Mrs. Bach lamenting her life no doubt. I also could have done without Norman Mailer's "Beyond the Law," which means to show what brutes the police are but is so splattered with violence, obscenities, and repeated four-letter words that it becomes a travesty, as if a schoolboy were seeing how far he could

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

go. Best of all the films, I liked the German "Artists Under the Big Top: Perplexed" with its interesting arguments about commercialism and artistry today; the American "Faces" with John Cassavetes' direction of a fine cast in a portrait of today's society and the break-up of a marriage; the French "Naked Childhood" about an unwanted boy who learns he is wanted and that he "belongs" to the family who care for him; and two of the retrospective films: Max Ophuls' opulent "Lola Montes" and Jean Renoir's amazing "Toni." Of course there were other enjoyable movies at the Festival, and I shall review them when they are released in this country. More than half of the Festival films have been bought by distributors here, and no doubt others will be grabbed up.

Among the disappointments for me were pictures made by directors whose work I admire greatly: Orson Welles' "The Immortal Story," Robert Bresson's "Mouchette," Bernardo Bertolucci's "Partner," Claude Chabrol's "Les Biches." But it is to be hoped that even these films will have American runs—so that I can see them again and perhaps realize I was wrong on this first viewing. It was particularly with Czech movies that I felt let down. Could it be that we overestimated the earlier works that came from Czechoslovakia? "Capricious Summer" opened the New York Fest, and this bitter-sweet comedy by Jiri Menzel, whose "Closely Watched Trains" won huzzahs last year, proved a rather slight affair about three no-longer-young pals who make a play for a circus girl and prove rather mediocre as Don Juans. Menzel, himself, disappointed at the lack of American enthusiasm for his picture, said he thought the sub-titles didn't do it and its humor justice. He had no suggestions to offer for remedying this, however.

The Festival's closing film was "The Firemen's Ball," made by Milos Forman, whose "Loves of a Blonde" was a hit in this country two years ago. "The Firemen's Ball" has some fine satire in exposing man's selfishness, but the film becomes so cynical that one begins to dislike all its characters, even those who had already won us in the humorous scenes. Forman's direction is very good, and if you like this kind of cynicism without warmth, this picture is for you. Of the three Czech movies, I liked "Report on the Party and the Guests" best. It is a sort of modern fable with enough touches of Pinter to keep the viewer interested, mystified and ill-at-ease as a party of picnickers are forced to join a larger party, which the picnickers do without too much unwillingness. And, except for one man who escapes, these picnickers don't realize their hosts have enveloped them. They are caught by the seeming kindness of their unwanted guardians and should, but probably don't even get the meaning of the take-over when the dogs are sent out at the finale after the escaped man. Jan Nemec's fable about totalitarianism makes your blood run cold. As a film it is fascinating and its moral is frightening. I hope this "Report" has a good run here. And I hope the New York Film Festival continues for years and years to bring us films like this.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Books on the cinema: a new market beckons

Film 67/68

EDIT. RICHARD SCHICKEL & JOHN SIMON

Simon & Schuster, $6.95

Exploring the Film

WILLIAM KUHNS & ROBERT STANLEY

Pflaum, $3.50

F. A. MACKLIN

Film 67/68 and *Exploring the Film* are two recent books that show the polarities of books being published about cinema. The first is a collection of the work of the best film critics in the U.S. today; the latter is a potpourri by two young collaborators aiming at novice interest in film (obviously directed at the high school audience). *Film 67/68* is a very satisfying book; *Exploring the Film* is not.

What is immediately apparent to one perusing these books and the many others scrambling to the market today is that film is becoming a commercial subject, and publishing books on cinema is no longer considered the dangerous uncertainty it once was. Simon and Schuster has fashioned a handsome book of the 1967-68 writings of the members of the National Society of Film Critics. What is perhaps more interesting is that Geo. A. Pflaum, an Ohio Catholic publisher, looking for something to replace the dwindling *Little Messenger,* has also beckoned to the new market. But the techniques of visual, naive simplicity do not sit so well on film as they may have on the past products of Catholic subculture. This is no time to berate the canards of the past, but it is a time to be wary of the manipulations of the future.

At first look *Exploring the Film* appears effective (though one is aware immediately of its redundancy and disunity). It is full of stills, fancy visual editing, and even a Spiderman comic. Any book that includes a Spiderman comic can't be all bad. But like most of the visual aspects, the Spiderman comic doesn't fit; its relevance is strained at best (many of the stills are repetitive

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and superfluous). In an age of instant experts, the two young authors (obviously bruised by the massage of McLuhan) have seized the opportunity to put together a book. But for all its synthetic energy *Exploring the Film* is a dull book.

One reason is that the writers who seem to distrust words have had to use them, with the result that the text is thickened with poor prose like the following: "Soon he begins short-changing customers in order to acquire more money sooner. . . ." And, in a span of thirty brief lines are the following repetitious reveries: "A good film never stops moving. . . . The subject should be alive. . . . Nowhere does the film stop. . . . the film stays constantly alive and makes its characters come to life. . . . The film is filled with life. . . . charged with life. . . . Films can come to life. . . ." With so much "life" there is little room for much distinction.

The book also contains overstatement: "What is tragic about *Nobody Waved Goodby* [a somewhat trite Canadian film about a young man that is celebrated continually in the text] is that many viewers are not sensitive to the real language of film. . . ."

Exploring the Film shows that the non-academic approach can be as empty as any. The authors immediately flag the declaration that the book is "non-academic," which means I suppose that they consider it relevant, etc. But its relevance comes through such techniques as using two blank pages, two pages with the single word "Great!" and the section on television is highlighted by such banal filler as a picture of coins and a full-page picture of Raymond Burr as Ironside.

I spend so much time on what is a crude but energetic book because I think it manifests the caravansary of simplicity (heavy and unclear) that is being erected on film and tv. The essential quality of the Kuhns-Stanley book is that style becomes an end in itself, and that style is facile, fragmentary, inchoate, and—probably—influential.

In direct contrast with *Exploring the Film, Film 67/68* is an exciting book. It has all the things we have come *not*

continuum

the magazine that speaks for itself

Continuum is an independent quarterly sponsored by Saint Xavier College, Chicago, edited by Justus George Lawler in association with Gregory Baum, Daniel Berrigan, Leslie Dewart, Gabriel Moran, Rosemary Ruether, George Tavard, and others.

(This current issue will be sent FREE to new subscribers.)

Introduction

- Richard L. Rubenstein / THE CAVE, THE ROCK, AND THE TENT: THE MEANING OF PLACE
- N. D. O'Donoghue, ODC / SPACE AND TIME AS ETHICAL CATEGORIES
- David W. Tracey / HORIZON ANALYSIS AND ESCHATOLOGY
- James P. Dougherty / THE CITY OF MAN
- Eugene TeSelle / EARTHLY CITY AND KINGDOM OF GOD
- J. Massingberd Ford / THE PACT OF THE PIECES

Editorial

- John J. McManmon / LITURGY FOR A HOLY WEEK

The Substantive Dialogue

- Richard Hinners / TELEOLOGY AND "ARCHAEOLOGY"
- Edward MacKinnon, SJ / TRANSCENDENTAL TURN: NECESSARY BUT INSUFFICIENT
- Bernard A. M. Nachbar / IS IT THOMISM?
- Michael Novak / REQUIRED: A CONCERT POLITICAL STARTING PLACE
- Schubert M. Ogden / THE CHALLENGE TO PROTESTANT THOUGHT
- Daniel J. Shine, SJ / THE BEING-PRESENT-TO-ITSELF OF BEING

Folio

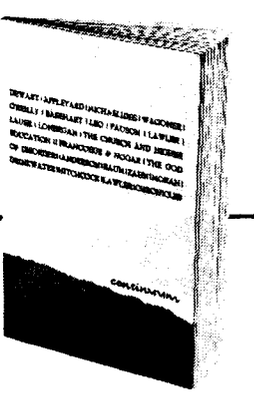
- Matt Cartmill / VERSES

Witness to the Age

- Daniel Berrigan, SJ / THE BEST OF TIMES: THE WORST OF TIMES
- Edward T. Gargan / A CRISIS OF FAITH

Chronicle

- George H. Tavard / DOES THE PROTESTANT MINISTRY HAVE SACRAMENTAL SIGNIFICANCE?
- Edward MacKinnon, SJ / HUMANAE VITAE AND DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT
- Dan Sullivan / THE SELF AND THE OTHER
- Thomas P. Anderson / THE NAKED JOURNALIST
- Martin Versfeld / PERSONALITIES AND POWER
- James Hitchcock / RIOTS AND REVOLUTION
- Daniel Callahan / THE LAWLERIAN MATTER
- Gerard P. Kirk, SJ / HUMANAE VITAE



continuum
Herder Book Center
232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Please enter my subscription to CONTINUUM.
I will receive the current issue FREE.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ 1 year—$7 ☐ 3 years—$18 ☐ 5 years—$28

$_____ Payment enclosed ☐ Please bill me_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to expect from critics. It is essentially affirmative; it is not full of intra-critic bitchiness. The critics' offerings are representative of their best work. Where *Exploring the Film* offered merely gimmickry, the critics in *Film 67/68* have offered substance in a non-academic way of their own.

The latter book has a refreshing sense of flexibility. Richard Schickel (*Life*), who edited it with John Simon, writes, " . . . What you hold in your hands is a collection of first words—not last words —on the films released in the United States in 1967." Simon (*The New Leader*) adds the keynote of the proceedings: "Individualism, however wild, I find extremely heartening. But it is equally pleasing to note that the society can on occasion produce an instant majority vote—in this case, recognizing Bergman's achievement with *Persona*."

The individual voting on the films of 1967 is included. *Persona* won best picture, Rod Steiger best leading actor for *In the Heat of the Night,* and Bibi Andersson best leading actress for *Persona.* There were numerous other awards. Simon's record of the voting by the individual members could be clarified or replaced by a chart for easier reference.

The National Society of Film Critics is a group of 12 members (surprisingly the rather reasonable Moira Walsh of *America* has not been elected to membership) from important national journals who number among them the best film critics in the country. Although *Film 67/68* is basically favorable, there is a negative balance, and the book has the zest of critics celebrating the works and ideas they find important.

One gets a good idea of the cinema of 1967-68. (Ironically, the most influential contemporary director Jean-Luc Godard has no films reviewed in the book.) Joseph Morgenstern's (*Newsweek*) two pieces on *Bonnie and Clyde* are included, the reversal of his position after originally condemning it. Other major contributions are Pauline Kael (*New Republic*; now of *The New Yorker*) on Orson Welles and *Falstaff;* John Simon on *Persona;* Richard Schickel on *Titicut Follies;* and Andrew Sarris (*The Village Voice*) on *In the Heat of the Night.* There are also commentaries on popular films such as *The Dirty Dozen* (Schickel) and *Dr. Dolittle* (Morgenstern).

The major missing element shows up in the criticism of *The Graduate;* the book's selection suggests little of the film's success (deserved or not) or the controversy about it. Two of the most zealous essays of 1968 were Stanley Kauffmann's two pieces on *The Graduate* in *The New Republic,* in which he celebrated the film as "a milestone in American film history." The lack of any of Kauffmann's criticism of *The Graduate* is a major omission.

There is a decided variance in style from the quiet, workmanlike prose of Philip T. Hartung (*Commonweal*) to the urbane whimsy of Wilfrid Sheed (*Esquire*) to the minstrel flutings (sometimes sweet, sometimes offkey) of Andrew Sarris. It is one of Sarris' pieces that is most memorable. His essays on *Don't Look Back,* Donn Alan Pennebaker's film about Bob Dylan, is one of those essays that helps place to rest a film that is by the very fact of its "documentary" nature bothersome. Sarris is sympathetic to Dylan and is willing to recognize his own lacks of knowledge, but the most important aspect of the piece is that it places the Pennebaker-Leacock approach in some kind of valid perspective. The essay is a good example of criticism as an attempt at comprehension. Much of the best criticism in the book is based on this principle, and it shows that much film criticism today is not merely posturing.

Besides the individual films criticized there are "Reflections" on the underground cinema by Brad Darrach (ex-*Time* film critic), on Expo 67 by Morgenstern and Arthur Knight (*Saturday Review*), and "Some Notes on a Year with *Blow-Up*" by Stanley Kauffmann (incidentally, we *know* by now that professors—particularly English teachers—are bad; in the year 1969 let us hope that Mr. K., et al. can lead us on to fresher truths). Finally there is a symposium by some of the members of the society on "The Future of Film" that seems strained.

Despite imperfections, *Film 67/68* is a fine book, worthy of being an annual and becoming a tradition. In this age of "nonverbal communication" *Film 67/68* with words conveys the essence of film so much better than *Exploring the Film* does with all its nonverbal paraphernalia. There's an interesting revelation in the comparison.

Negotiating With The Chinese Communists

KENNETH T. YOUNG

McGraw-Hill, $10.95

How Communist China Negotiates

ARTHUR LALL

Columbia Univ. Press, $7.95

ORVILLE H. SCHELL

In spite of the fact that the US has refused to recognize Communist China, we have been negotiating with them almost continuously since 1953. In Panmunjom, Geneva and then in Warsaw, US diplomats have sat opposite their Chinese counterparts for fifteen years, sometimes enraged by invective and attack, and at other times dozing with heavy lids through seemingly interminable barrages of propaganda. With only brief periods of flexibility, each side has sat immovably on opposite sides of a series of seemingly un-negotiable contradictions. What Dean Rusk has called the "little window of diplomacy" between the US and China has proven hopelessly inadequate to resolve the issues between the two countries. In 1966 Rusk stated, "I think that it is accurate to say that no other non-communist nation has had such extensive conversations with the Peiping regime [Rusk still insists on calling Peking, *Peiping,* the name it held under nationalist rule as an emigré Russian aristocrat might still call Leningrad, St. Petersburg] as we have had."

While this statement may be true, it misses the point. The problem has not been that we have not had enough "talks" or diplomatic avenues of communication, but that neither side has been able to escape the strictures of ideology and objectively evaluate its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

legitimate interests. Failure to understand the role that "world view" can play in the formation of one country's vision of another has been acute, on both sides. On the American side, I do not mean to suggest that we can solve our problems with China by accumulating more "China experts" to unravel the inscrutable ways of the East. There is an even more pressing need for officials and negotiators who can unravel the consequences of our *own* world view which has so often and so decisively dictated our responses to China.

We have all too often accused the Chinese of distorting reality and of self-deception. It has been more difficult to see it in ourselves. Rest assured that any nation which can become involved in a war as self-defeating and devastating as the Vietnam war, does not have a monopoly on realism and objectivity. Moral posturing has prevented US and THEM from seeing how emotionally and ideologically committed one can become to a position which often transcends and jeopardizes national interest.

Kenneth T. Young's book, *Negotiating with the Chinese,* is a solid and patiently compiled chronicle of what turns out to be a rather dull slice of diplomatic history. But while discussing all the maneuvers back and forth across the conference table, he seems to have missed much of the deeper significance of the conflicts between the US and China. He discusses Maoism, Sino-centrism and Chinese nationalism as though they are some kind of unrealistic deviant responses which the Chinese would someday outgrow so that relations with the US can return to normal. There is a sense throughout that, although US foreign policy has its imperfections, the real hurdle has been China's unreasonableness; she is portrayed as a sort of retarded child in the family of nations. While Mr. Young does have a good chapter on U.S. attitudes toward China ("The Emotional Syndrome"), he makes little attempt to show the emotional and political biases of our negotiators. Nowhere in the book, for instance, does he mention the effect of McCarthyism on foreign policy and the terror that it struck into the hearts of China specialists. Young assumes that U.S. negotiators are a-political and a-ideological: rational, value-free technicians of international breakdowns whose professional patience is tried by Chinese bombast. Mr. Young says, "Coping with Peking's ideological and revolutionary style of adversary negotiation is never easy or simple." One does not doubt it. But one wonders how it must feel to sit opposite a John Foster Dulles or a Dean Rusk.

Mr. Young sees Sino-U.S. problems through the eyes of a negotiator searching for the artful "mix of power and diplomacy" which will resolve them. He makes little attempt to evaluate the legitimacy of American or Chinese demands. Nations make demands; the job of the diplomat is to win sanction for these demands at the negotiating table. Questioning the wisdom or morality of a demand is not within his province. Thus U.S. relations with China take on the semblance of a global Parker Bros. game which is won by skill rather than conviction. Like Castiglione writing a renaissance guide for the successful courtier, Mr. Young has written a very competent and lengthy manual explaining the game of "negotiating with the Chinese," and how through minor innovation we might expect to do somewhat better at it without altering the rules of the game in any basic way.

How Communist China Negotiates, by Arthur Lall, is a thoughtfully written account of the Geneva Conference in 1961-62 which neutralized Laos. Most of it is a rather straight forward account of the Conference at which Mr. Lall was the chief Indian negotiator. But by far the most interesting part is a tantalizingly brief chapter, "China's Approach to Negotiation," in which Mr. Lall analyzes China's approach to diplomacy in terms of Mao's theory of contradictions. He shows how two seemingly opposite tactics or objectives may fit together to form different sides of the same contradiction and thus attain a certain unity in the eyes of the Chinese Communists.

To a non-Marxist Westerner it is often difficult to understand, for instance, how peaceful coexistence and violent

Christian Thinkers Speak Out On . . .

SELECTIVE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

The late John Courtney Murray, S.J. here addresses himself to the personal problem of many young people — and their advisors — as he distinguishes primacy of belief over compulsory military service. His guidelines are having a tremendous effect on the "My Country, Right or Wrong" syndrome. Counsellors, priests — as well as young people themselves — will find fine points here which government officials cannot ignore in a Christian democracy. **25¢**

TEACHER POWER IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

Bishop Mark Hurley, Auxiliary of San Francisco, addresses himself here to an appreciation of the significant force which teachers exert in American Society, showing new applications of their efforts. The teacher's potential in a troubled society for effectiveness is explored by this distinguished educator-bishop. Teachers in Catholic schools will ponder his words with value. **25¢**

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE NEGRO

Msgr. John Tracy Ellis, the fearless champion of truth in history, here addresses himself candidly to tracing the accurate history of the Church's relations with the Negro in the United States. The clarity and honesty of the presentations are refreshingly provocative to an examination of everyone's previous knowledge of the subject. **25¢**

Encyclicals of Pope Paul VI
Of Human Life
On the Development of Peoples
The Celibacy of the Priest

WE, THE PEOPLE OF GOD
edited by James A. Coriden

How the Code of Canon Law is eventually revised will determine in a major way, the degree of success of renewal in the Church. Exploration of the possibilities of a constitutional form of government for the Church is the function of the writers in this book. Here, scripture scholars, theologians, philosophers, historians, sociologists, canonists and civil lawyers express their views provocatively but constructively. Based on principles of government by the community in the deliberative and decision-making process, these opinions expressed here will provoke agreement, disagreement, searching — and stimulate further discussion.

Cloth, $4.95 Paper, $1.95

Order Your Copies Today!

OUR SUNDAY VISITOR Book Department
Noll Plaza/Huntington, Indiana 46750

Please send me (in the quantities indicated):

_____ Selective Conscientious Objection, 25¢
_____ The Catholic Church and the Negro, 25¢
_____ Teacher Power in American Society, 25¢
_____ Of Human Life, 25¢
_____ On the Development of Peoples, 25¢
_____ The Celibacy of the Priest, 25¢
_____ We, The People of God, cloth, $4.95
_____ We, The People of God, paper, $1.95

(Quantity discounts on 25¢ booklets:
20 to 100 copies, 20¢ each
101 to 200 copies, 19¢ each
201 or more, 17½¢ each)

Name .....
Street .....
City .....
State .....Zip .....

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me
(Please send payment with orders under $3.00)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revolution can be uncynically embraced in a given policy. Mr. Lall tries to show the internal consistency in Maoist thinking and in China generally where, as he says, " . . . the fundamental role of contradictions in every sphere of life, policy, and action. . . ." is accepted. Mao's theory of contradictions helps to explain why the Chinese see no illogic in accepting flexibility and inflexibility, or socialist bloc solidarity and the Sino-Soviet rift, as two sides of the same coin. As abstractions, or on the level of pure ideology, these concepts are clearly in a state of tension in which one side must ultimately triumph over the other. But in reality or practice, as Mao would say, the antagonism of a contradiction may be suspended for purely tactical reasons allowing for a temporary practical retreat which may better enable one to attain a given goal.

Mr. Lall's point is that if negotiations, such as those at Geneva over Laos, are seen through a Maoist prism, the reversal of position and apparent contradictions in Chinese line become more understandable (although perhaps no more palatable) and less like the irrational and unordered thrusts of an autocratic elite whose sole motivation is demonic world conquest. Mr. Lall labors through the proceedings of the Conference to show how the Chinese Government can be pragmatic while maintaining their hard-line rhetoric. Mao himself has said that theory alone is no better than cow dung. What he appears to mean is that while China will never cease struggling against her capitalist and imperialist enemies, realism may compel her to form united fronts and make concessions, whether it be to trade with the bourgeois West Germans, or to countenance the British Colony of Hong Kong on her coast.

It is an old saw that the Chinese have been more intractable and belligerent in word than in deed. This is indeed a contradiction. But it is one which the Chinese tacitly acknowledge through practice. They have made this crucial distinction; one which Western diplomats have all too often overlooked.

The Algiers Motel Incident

JOHN HERSEY

Knopf, $5.95

ROBERT L. TERRELL

John Hersey has undoubtedly written better books than this, but it's unlikely that he has ever written a more important one. He himself says of it: "I have always, before this, stayed out of my journalism, even as a manipulative pronoun, having believed that it sufficed for a writer to 'come through' to the reader—by the nature of his selections from the whole. . . . But this account is too urgent, too complex, too dangerous, to too many people to be told in a way that might leave doubts strewn along its path; I cannot afford, this time, the luxury of invisibility."

His book contains "all the mythic themes of racial strife in the United States: the arm of the law taking the law into its own hands; interracial sex; the subtle poison of racist-thinking 'decent' men who deny that they are racists; the societal limbo into which so many young black men have been driven ever since slavery, in our country; ambiguous justice in the courts; and the devastation in both black and white human lives."

It is about three young black men who were sadistically beaten and murdered by three white cops. The "incident," as Hersey calls it, took place in a third-rate motel during the height of the bloody rebellion that shook Detroit and its suburbs in the summer of 1967.

As one reads of the depressing events that shaped the lives and attitudes of the three dead youths, it becomes unmistakably clear that if they hadn't been destroyed in the Algiers Motel, it would have happened someplace else. For the book also documents the system that destroys them: if not by a castrating shotgun blast, then by the needle, welfare, the draft, and/or thousands of other efficient means of human destruction.

Hersey chillingly illustrates the fact that, in the black ghettos, the law, which most Americans consider impartial, is the tool most often used to destroy black people. "Everything have a law to it," said Robert Pollard (the brother of one of the murdered youths), who was in prison when Hersey interviewed him. "Every time you walk out a door, anywhere you walk, you break a law. See because they got so many laws," Robert continued. "Actually if people really look at it you don't actually have no freedom. Because anything you do, you've broken a law. I mean the least little thing, you know. You can't even spit on the sidewalk; if

For Lay People, the Clergy, and Religious

WORSHIP

A review exploring the current renewal of the Liturgy

Where

The Meaning and Structure of Christian Worship

and

Recent Documents of Liturgical Reform

Are Discussed by Leading Experts in the Field

$5.00 one year 10 issues annually $9.00 two years

THE LITURGICAL PRESS

St. John's Abbey Collegeville, Minnesota 56321

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you spit on the sidewalk, that's a ticket. They done covered the earth with cement and you can't spit on it."

The law, of course, would be nothing without its enforcers, and Hersey introduces us to some of these—the three white cops who are being tried for the triple killing. One of them, David Senak, talked extensively about himself. Before the "incident" and all the adverse publicity which it brought to the Detroit police department, Senak was considered to be a good cop by his fellow officers and his superiors. His specialty was "trolling" for whores and homosexuals. "There are special places to work queers," Senak told Hersey. "I used to be a whore man. The whores would take to me because I sort of more or less have an innocent-looking face." Senak's evident pleasure in this work is as frightening as the fact that the system protected him.

Hersey tells it with extensive interviews and well-placed comments. David Senak and his colleagues, Robert Paille and Ronald August, felt quite justified in their actions. They felt that as far as black people are concerned, a white man "can do just about anything [he] wants to do in the world." Hersey states the situation succinctly: "In the country where Aubrey and his friends lived, there were (and there still are), two perceptions, black and white, of justice. This is such a crucial fact—crucial to all racial violence, central to the Algiers Motel Incident."

Hersey has been severely criticized for rushing the book into print before the three accused were brought to trial. It is charged that he has undermined the judicial process. (One might ask what judicial process, or better yet, whose?)

Hersey anticipated these critics, and early in the book he says: "I was fearfully aware that jail sentences, reputations, and perhaps even lives were at stake in the trials which were pending from this case. But I was also aware that lives had already been lost in it; that trials and appeals might drag on for several years . . . that time does not stand still in the crisis of black and white in our country . . . I am not so foolish as to believe that my telling of these events will change the course of history, or even justice in this narrow instance; but I do believe that every scrap of illumination, every thread that may lead not just to survival of the races but to health—all should be shared as soon as possible. There is so much to be done in so little time."

This book has its faults. It is woefully disorganized and sometimes difficult to follow. But this should not be allowed to obscure the tragedy with which it deals. Its most important aspect is that it is a positive attempt to get Americans to understand that virtually every institution in this nation is a product of "white racism" and must be radically restructured if we are to have racial harmony, and if the nation is to survive at all.

REVIEWERS

F. A. MACKLIN, the editor of *Film Heritage*, is presently teaching two cinema courses at the University of Dayton.

ORVILLE H. SCHELL, a Fellow at the Center for Chinese Studies at Berkeley, co-authored *The China Reader*.

ROBERT L. TERRELL, a previous contributor to these pages, is a reporter with the New York *Post*.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 75)

val facilities, have, indeed, shown every sign of strengthening their military position which has been left in sanctuary by our bombers.

Fact 3. While it is true that the bombing has been increased south of the 20th Parallel, this has been in direct response to North Vietnam's build-up of men and equipment facing the Demilitarized Zone. That would seem a defensible military response to an evident military threat.

All of these facts must be known to you quite as well as to me. Why were they swept under the rug?

After referring to a "hardening of conditions" on our part, you state: "The

IS IT THE SAME CHURCH?

F. J. Sheed

"Is It the Same Church? is a masterpiece: perhaps the most valuable thing (Frank Sheed has) written. I read it three times, then started lending it. My parish priest has made his priest friends not only read but buy it. It is *the* book for Catholics of today." So writes Monica Baldwin, author of *I Leap Over the Wall.* The London *Times* calls it, "A good-tempered and sharply observed survey of what is happening . . . He is re-stating the basic ground for Christian belief, recognizing that its formulation must of necessity reflect the changing language in which . . . it must be expressed."

An important book for all those who are puzzled and concerned about the changes in the Church today. 232 pages.

October 15 **At your bookstore** **Paperbound, $1.75**

PFLAUM PRESS 38 WEST FIFTH STREET DAYTON, OHIO 45402

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most recent indication of this hardening—Johnson's declaration of no further 'de-escalation'—came at a time when there was general agreement that Hanoi was scaling down its half of the war and American troop casualties were at a near all-time low."

The italicizing is mine. *General agreement* might be justified as descriptive of most liberal opinion, a part of the press, a great deal of European reaction, but it can scarcely be described as the "general" consensus of the military or the public.

Fact 1. For every sign of easement, including the possible withdrawal of two North Vietnam divisions, there were other signs of massive regrouping in the sanctuaries of Laos and Cambodia.

Fact 2. While active operations were reduced, the flow of military supplies was being stepped up, and larger, more powerful Russian weaponry was in evidence.

Fact 3. The recent escalation of the fighting by the Viet Cong would seem to substantiate the military opinion against the field. There was a lull. Giap is famous for such tactics. Any apparent de-escalation was justifiably suspect; witness recent casualty figures.

Finally, you refer to "the most recent indication of hardening" as entirely attributable to recalcitrance on our part. In view of Russia's recent invasion of Czechoslovakia, is this quite impartial? James Reston said it well in the *Times*—The Russians are asking us to do something very hard indeed. While they ruthlessly betray a friend, they are asking us to trust that they will not betray us. Why should we expect President Johnson to attribute to Ho Chi Minh any greater capacity for trustworthiness than we would expect from Brezhnev?

Indeed, *Commonweal* can be as justly accused of building a credibility gap as the Administration it so ardently deplores. And the pity of it is—it doesn't have to. The full truth will serve it better in the end than any assembly of half-truths. WORTHINGTON MINER

Reply

Fact 1. We have intensified rather than diminished the bombing of the North and the South as well and are now carrying out more sorties than ever before in the course of the war.

Fact 2. The North Vietnamese have sought to re-equip their forces and repair the bomb damage done north of the 20th Parallel. During periodic truce lulls, the U.S. has done the same with its own forces.

Fact 3. The U.S. has never given Hanoi the chance to reciprocate, as has been shown in the respected book, *The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam*, and in fact began the bombing on a pretext.

There was agreement among every observer, military included, that the NLF and the North Vietnamese had broken off military encounter—to the point where U.S. casualties were at a near *all-time low*. If this did not indicate a de-escalation move, nothing will, and the U.S. will have continued excuse for bombing increases and new escalations. The Hanoi government has indicated repeatedly its intention to negotiate as soon as all the bombing has ceased. It appears that the U.S. believes them. By refusing to accept the legitimacy of this statement and other signals, the U.S. has confined itself to seeking a military solution. All tactical questions, such as the NLF's use of Cambodian sanctuary, must be subsumed under this general policy heading. THE EDITORS

Politics of Charity

Farmington, Mich.

To the Editors: The whole sad spectacle of what went on in Chicago in late August is made more tragic by the wild, frantic shouts of people like Jean Strouse ["A Taste of Fascism," Sept. 20]: ". . . the cops had been primed for slaughter; Daley was pawing the floor of his bullpen to get at those Commie punks and peacenik slobs. Humphrey grinned approvingly from behind his politics of joy."

By what standards of charity can author Strouse presume to judge anyone else when such obvious hate and contempt ooze from her every word? When she and the "children of love" give an example of tolerance and charity to those they now despise, perhaps some way can be found to heal the ever deepening wounds.

MARGUERITE KOWALESKI

Medics in Vietnam

St. Paul, Minn.

To the Editors: As a physician who spent one year with the United States Army in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam (1966-67) and one whose overall viewpoint on the war is similar to John Deedy's, I feel that his description of the plight of the civilian casualties ["News and Views," September 20] overlooks an important point—our medical techniques are not necessarily easily and immediately applicable to Vietnamese medical care.

It is not just a matter of the United States military's assigning the problem a low priority. Indeed, various programs of military medical care for civilians are a standard tactic in psychological operations aimed at bolstering (perhaps

"BET YOU DON'T KNOW *who was just elected President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. For that matter, bet you don't remember the name of the gentleman whom he replaces, or what he did. Hell, we're willing to bet that* he *doesn't remember what he did.*"

For a free copy of Wm. F. Buckley's NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. H, 150 E. 35 Street, N.Y. 10016.

Classified

● RATES 40¢ a word, 12 words minimum. Centered lines $2.40 a line. Discounts: 3 times 5%; 7 times, 10%; 13 times, 15%. Payable with order.

Social Service

● DIRECTOR WANTED for new demonstration economic development program for rural Indians. $15,000. Also, openings for business economists and community development specialists. *Phone:* OKLAHOMANS FOR INDIAN DEVELOPMENT, 405-JE6-3737.

Workshops

● GESTALT group-encounter weekend workshops for couples, led by Esalen, experienced Christian psychologist-philosopher. *Write:* DAN SULLIVAN, Box 515, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"creating" would be more accurate) political support for the Republic of Vietnam. In long-term results this tactic has been relatively futile. This is so not only because "medical kindness" does not necessarily overcome gross insensitivity in other areas of human relationships, but also because many Vietnamese (especially in rural areas) do not understand or attach high value to modern, Western-type medical care. Thus these programs often are just as dismal failures medically as they have been politically. This is not to say that there have not been instances of effective medical treatment of Vietnamese civilians by United States physicians or that casualties cannot be given better care; but I *think* we must realize that the power of our medical resources is quite limited by the level of education and sophistication and the culture of the patients involved.

For example, if we were to somehow provide a hospital environment emphasizing strict asepsis, many Vietnamese (who have little insight into the germ theory of disease) would reject such a facility as being too restrictive. The limited access of the family to its ill or injured member would be incomprehensible and hence intolerable. They would seek help in more traditional facilities if available. Perhaps they would seek no help outside the family at all.

In my view, the inability to immediately translate United States medical technics into effective care for the Vietnamese typifies the ineffectiveness and incredible heavy-handedness of our involvement in this beleaguered nation-to-be. We have enormous economic and technological resources that cannot be efficiently applied to medical care problems in the face of cultural and educational disparity, any more than they can be applied to the war itself in the absence of a true political consensus in the Republic of Vietnam.

While I wholeheartedly agree with John Deedy that we must do a better job taking care of civilian casualties, the real crying medical need of the Vietnamese people is peace and the opportunity it may bring them to learn basic scientific and public health principles that we take for granted. In this basically educational task perhaps some of us in this country can finally be of help to the Vietnamese.

THOMAS J. ROSE, M.D.

Revolutionaries, All

Lexington, Ky.

To the Editors: Father McCabe's "Priesthood and Revolution" [Sept. 20] is an excellent and long overdue statement. If one were to judge the Catholic Church by norms suggested in this article, then the conclusion is frightening. The Church always seems to be trying to make peace with the world rather than to renew it. As a matter of course the clergy and hierarchy strive to maintain the political, social and economic status quo in every country where it is free . . .

I would like to mention one small point of disagreement with Father McCabe. Every Christian, not just clergy, is a leader in the revolution. Every genuine Christian carries the revolution around with him. Admittedly, priests have a unique mission but the lay person's dedication to the cause need not be any less than that of the priest. All ordinary Christians have a duty to act as leaders in the revolution and have the obligation of renewing that portion of secular society in which they find themselves immersed by reason of their vocation.

LAWRENCE X. TARPEY, SR.

Conscience First

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: If I am correct in assuming that Father Clancy's "quotation" ["The Troubling Spirit," Aug. 28] is from Newman's *Letter to The Duke of Norfolk*, it should read: . . . "Certainly, if I am obliged to bring religion into after-dinner toasts, (which indeed does not seem quite the thing) I shall drink —to the Pope, if you please,—still, to Conscience first, and to the Pope afterwards." Furthermore, Newman did not speak those words after he had become a Cardinal; he wrote them in 1874.

HOWARD B. SLAVIN

McKAY

High praise hails the first complete report on the crisis of confidence and authority that has erupted within the Church.

The Catholic Revolution

by DOUGLAS J. ROCHE

Foreword by
DONALD J. THORMAN

A hard-hitting book. . . . Mr. Roche is a convinced and convincing spokesman for the new generation of lay leaders arising in the Catholic Church. I, for one, am grateful for the valuable information and helpful insights provided by this piece of sound research and responsible reporting."—BISHOP JAMES P. SHANNON, St. Paul-Minneapolis, Minn.

"This is not a comfortable book, but I believe it is an honest one. To ignore its message would be to misread the signs of the times."
—BISHOP REMI J. DE ROO, Victoria, B.C.

"An insightful and timely book . . . relating how every segment of the Church is beginning to awaken to its own responsibilities."—DONALD J. THORMAN, Publisher, *National Catholic Reporter*

CATHOLIC BOOK CLUB SELECTION FOR OCTOBER

At your bookstore • $6.50

DAVID McKAY COMPANY, INC.
New York 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A CALL for REFLECTION—and ACTION!

Vietnam Sunday

NOVEMBER 3, 1968

An Action by Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam

The war in Vietnam continues unabated. Since President Johnson's announced "peace plan" of March 31, 1968, more than 30,000 Americans have been killed or wounded in Vietnam. Paris talks have been unproductive. Negotiations have not begun.

At home the American people have met with a series of frustrations on the political front. The three major presidential candidates offer little hope that the next administration will come to terms with the fact that:

—the war in Vietnam is immoral
—the war in Vietnam is wasteful of our most precious resource—people
—continuation of the war daily deepens our domestic crisis

It is with this background in mind, with this perspective, that we call upon clergy and laymen throughout the country to participate in Vietnam Sunday on November 3.

What is Vietnam Sunday?

- It is an opportunity for clergymen, preaching on this particular weekend and utilizing the resources of their particular tradition, to open up for their congregations such subjects as Vietnam, the plight of young men of draft age, the crisis between large and small nations, or the war and domestic priorities.
- We would also ask that on Sunday afternoon or evening of November 3—or both—clergy and laymen meet in communities across the country—in ecumenical groupings if possible—and concern themselves with such subjects as:
  - —how the United States can end the war in Vietnam
  - —the responsibility of the religious community vis-a-vis young men who have either refused military service or, once in the armed forces, have taken a stand in opposition to the war
  - —the relevance of the war to our domestic crisis, the question of law and order, and alienated youth (We are sure you can think of other topics!)
- Our National Committee has prepared a short statement, "An Open Letter to the Religious Community," that can be read from pulpits on the weekend of November 3. The statement is short (six minutes reading time) and a clergyman could offer comment on the letter after having read it.
- Finally each local group participating in Vietnam Sunday should seek ways to build into their program an action component. People in local communities will be able to arrive at the most appropriate kinds of action components for their own locale.

THERE IS A LOT OF WORK TO BE DONE IN A SHORT TIME—
HERE IS HOW WE CAN HELP YOU:

If you want speakers for Vietnam Sunday, call our office collect.
If you want a film for Vietnam Sunday, call our office collect.
If you want copies of "An Open Letter to the Religious Community"—free—fill in the coupon below.
If you want a special literature packet that we have prepared on Vietnam, the draft, and national priorities @ 15¢ per packet, including postage, fill in the coupon below.

Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027
Tel: 212-870-2174 or 212-870-2032

Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

VIETNAM SUNDAY
November 3, 1968

Please send_____copies of "An Open Letter to the Religious Community" (FREE)

_____special literature packets on Vietnam, the draft, and national priorities @ 15¢ each*

I want to support this and other activities of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. I enclose $_____.

Name_____

Address_____

_____ZIP_____

***Please enclose payment. Make checks payable to Clergy and Laymen Concerned**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED